

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03

INR-11 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 AECE-00 DRC-01 /153 W

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P R 031633Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0470

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0284

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING  
OF OCTOBER 2, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS OCTOBER 2 MEETING, CHAIRED  
BY THE ACTING GREEK REP (NEZERITIS), THE AD HOC GROUP  
(AHG) HEARD SEVERAL REPORTS OF BILATERALS WITH EASTERN  
REPS (SEPTTEL), DISCUSSED VARIOUS ADMINISTRATIVE  
MATTERS AND COMMENTED ON THE OCTOBER 1 INFORMAL  
MEETING. REGARDING THE INFORMAL SESSION, THE FRG, UK,  
AND CANADIAN REPS COMMENTED THAT IT WAS A VERY  
NEGATIVE MEETING BUT THAT THIS EASTERN POSTURE WAS  
NOT UNEXPECTED AT THE OUTSET OF THE SESSION AND, DEFINITIVE

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JUDGMENTS SHOULD AWAIT FURTHER CLARIFICATION

OF THE EASTERN POSITION. THE ITALIAN AND BELGIAN REPS CAUTIONED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOW ALLOW THE EAST TO THINK THAT THEY STALLING TACTICS WILL GAIN THEM CONCESSIONS FROM THE WEST. BELGIAN REP ALSO CAUTIONED THAT THE EAST IS TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE ALLIED POSITION ON PHASING TO WHICH ALLIES SHOULD FIRMLY ADHERE. NEXT AHG MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 3. END SUMMARY.

DISCUSSION OF OCTOBER 1 INFORMAL

2. FRG REP (BEHREND) BEGAN THE GROUP'S DISCUSSION OF THE OCTOBER 1 INFORMAL SESSION (MBFR VIENNA 282 AND 283), CALLING ATTENTION TO KHLESTOV'S INITIAL STATEMENT ARGUING THAT NATO WAS ATTEMPTING TO SECURE A UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE. HE ALSO NOTED CZECH REP KLEIN'S PREPARED STATEMENT GIVING A DETAILED CRITICISM OF THE FOUR WESTERN ASSURANCES ON LINKAGE AS IRRELEVANT, COSMETIC, AND, AS ALWAYS, CONDITIONAL ON EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN POSITION INCLUDING THE COMMON CEILING. BEHREND OBSERVED THAT THE EAST CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCE THEIR FORCES FROM THE OUTSET. THE EASTERN REPS HAD MADE NO MENTION OF THEIR FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. BEHREND SAID HE THOUGHT IT WAS A DISCOURAGING AND EVEN RETROGRADE MEETING, WHICH REMINDED HIM OF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1973. HOWEVER, BEHREND CONTINUED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO DRAW FROM THIS MEETING ANY FIRM CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE EASTERN COURSE IN THIS ROUND. HE SUGGESTED THAT KLEIN'S STATEMENT MAY HAVE BEEN AN OBLIGATORY EXERCISE DESIGNED TO RECONFIRM THE FACT THAT THE EASTERN NOVEMBER 8 DRAFT AGREEMENT WAS STILL ON THE TABLE, AND TO SET THE STAGE FOR SUBSEQUENT RE-INTRODUCTION BY THE EAST OF THEIR FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. BEHREND NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH GDR REP (OESER) HAD NOT WANTED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET, KHLESTOV HAD, AT THE END OF THE MEETING, REAFFIRMED THE VALIDITY OF THE AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE

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THE FOCUS OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON THIS QUESTION.

3. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) VIEWED THE SESSION AS VERY NEGATIVE AND DEMONSTRATING COMPLETE LACK OF FLEXIBILITY BY THE EAST. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS ATTITUDE WAS PERHAPS TO BE EXPECTED AT THE FIRST MEETING. GRANDE NOTED THAT KLEIN'S STATEMENT WAS HARD-HITTING AND WAS BOTH BLUNTLY WRITTEN AND SPOKEN. ON THE OTHER HAND,

THE ATMOSPHERE WAS GOOD, AND GRADE SAW NO SIGN THAT THE EAST WANT THE TALKS TO BREAK DOWN. GRANDE AGREED WITH BEHREND'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS HAD RETURNED TO BASIC PRINCIPLES AND TO THEIR NOVEMBER 8 PROPOSAL, PERHAPS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR TOUGHNESS TO MOSCOW. GRANDE NOTED THAT EASTERN REPS GAVE NO REPLY TO AND SIMPLY IGNORED WESTERN QUESTIONS AS TO HOW THE EAST HAD SHOWN MOVEMENT TOWARD A MIDDLE GROUND SOLUTION. THE EAST CONTINUED THEIR ATTACK ON THE WESTERN APPROACH TO PHASING. HOWEVER, GRANDE ALSO NOTED KHLESTOV'S AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION AT THE INFORMALS OF THE WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET ISSUE.

4. US REP CALLED ATTENTION TO KHLESTOV'S ASSERTION THAT THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT WAS THE WESTERN ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. HE NOTED THAT BOTH OESER AND KHLESTOV NOW REGULARLY USED THE TERM "BALANCE" OF FORCES AND HAD APPARENTLY OVERCOME THEIR RELUCTANCE TO USE THIS WORD. US REP SAID HE AGREED WITH THE ASSESSMENT OF THE INFORMAL GIVEN BY BEHREND'S AND GRANDE.

5. UK REP (ROSE) ALSO CHARACTERIZED THE SESSION AS DISAPPOINTING AND NEGATIVE, BUT ADDED THAT THE EASTERN RETROGRADE ATTITUDE WAS NOT UNEXPECTED. HE SUGGESTED THAT THIS EASTERN PERFORMANCE, LIKE THAT AT THE FIRST PLENARY, WAS PART OF A HOLDING OPERATION. ALTHOUGH KLEIN'S STATEMENT WAS BLUNT, ROSE CALLED IT

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P R 031633Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0471  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0284

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

"PREDICTABLE AND NOT TRAGIC," AS THE ALLIES HAD  
HEARD MUCH THE SAME THING DURING THE LAST ROUND.  
LIKE BEHREND, ROSE WAS RELUCTANT TO DRAW  
DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS AND THOUGHT IT WOULD BE  
INTERESTING TO SEE IF THE EAST TAKES A MORE POSITIVE  
STANCE AT THE NEXT PLENARY AND INFORMAL.

6. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) REMARKED THAT, WHILE THE  
NEGATIVE EASTERN ATTITUDE WAS NOT UNEXPECTED, THE  
GROUP NONETHELESS SHOULD PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO IT  
AND SHOULD AVOID GIVING ANY IMPRESSION THAT "THE  
WELL KNOWN SOVIET HARD-LINE NEGOTIATING TACTICS  
OF WAITING OUT THE WEST" WOULD SUCCEED IN BRINGING  
ALLIED CONCESSIONS. CAGIATI DREW ATTENTION TO THE  
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CENTRAL POINT OF THE EASTERN POSITION, THAT THE  
BALANCE OF FORCES SHOULD BE LEFT UNCHANGED. HE  
NOTED EASTERN CITATIONS OF WESTERN SOURCES SUCH AS  
THE STOCKHOLM INSTITUTE (SIPRI), IN ORDER TO SHOW THAT  
THIS WAS A WIDELY HELD VIEW IN THE WEST AS WELL AS  
THE EAST. CAGIATI SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD  
IN THE NEXT FEW SESSIONS SEEK TO DESTROY THIS ARGUMENT.

7. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) AGREED WITH THE ITALIAN  
REP'S WARNING THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT GIVE THE  
EAST THE IMPRESSION THAT THEIR HOLDING POSTURE WILL GET THEM  
ANYWHERE. THE ALLIES, TOO, HAVE TO PLAY TOUGH. ADRIAENSSEN  
FURTHER OBSERVED THAT SINCE SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL BE VISITING  
MOSCOW THIS MONTH, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT EASTERN DELEGATIONS  
IN VIENNA WOULD PREFER TO AWAIT THE RESULTS OF THAT VISIT AND  
REFRAIN FROM ANY NEW MOVES. ADRIAENSSEN ALSO WARNED THAT THE  
SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE WESTERN  
PHASING CONCEPT. WHILE ADRIAENSSEN SAID THE PHASING CONCEPT  
ORIGINALLY WAS CREATED TO DEFER WEST EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS, HE

ASSERTED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE RECENT CHANGES IN WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD REDUCTIONS AND THE PRESSURES IN SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES. HE SUGGESTED THAT MOSCOW ALSO IS AWARE THAT IT MIGHT BE TEMPTING FOR SOME WESTERN ALLIES TO TELESCOPE THE TWO MBFR PHASES IN ORDER TO MEET THE INTERNAL PRESSURES AND THUS TO PERMIT EARLY WEST EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS. (HERE ADRIAENSSEN WAS INDIRECTLY REFERRING TO INFORMAL REMARKS BY UK REP IN SOCIAL DISCUSSION PREVIOUS EVENING IN WHICH LATTER SAID THIS OUTCOME MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.) THE SOVIETS CAN BE EXPECTED TO EXPLOIT THIS TEMPTATION. ADRIAENSSEN WARNED THE GROUP NOT TO LET THE EAST THINK THE ALLIES CAN ACCEPT A SECOND PHASE MERELY AS A PHASE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS -- A "PHASE OF EXECUTION" -- RATHER THAN AS A SEPARATE NEGOTIATING PHASE. ALLIES SHOULD HOLD OUT AND OBLIGE SOVIETS TO MAKE A PRIOR REDUCTION AS PRICE FOR ALLIED REDUCTIONS.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

9. SYG REP (COHEN) REPORTED ON VARIOUS ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS, INCLUDING DISTRIBUTION OF SITCEN MESSAGES. HE REPORTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF ASSUMED THAT NATIONAL REPORTING OF SECRET

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NATO DEVELOPMENTS SATISFACTORILY MET THE REQUIREMENTS OF AHG DELEGATIONS. THE CANADIAN, UK, AND ITALIAN REPS OBJECTED. THEY ARGUED THAT SINCE NATO REPORTING OFTEN REFERS TO INTERNATIONAL STAFF DRAFT PAPERS NEVER RECEIVED IN A TIMELY FASHION BY THE VIENNA DELEGATIONS, IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF NATO COULD SEND BY CABLE COPIES OF THESE DOCUMENTS TO THE AHG FOR USE AS NEEDED BY ALL DELEGATIONS. COHEN SAID HE WOULD CONVEY THIS AHG REQUEST TO BRUSSELS. COHEN ALSO REPORTED THAT, AS A SECURITY MEASURE, A BULLET-PROOF STEEL DOOR WOULD BE INSTALLED AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE RENNWEG BUILDING. MOREOVER, A TEAM OF NATO SECURITY SPECIALISTS WILL BE VISITING TO INSPECT THE OVERALL SECURITY SITUATION AT THE RENNWEG BUILDING.

NEXT AD HOC GROUP MEETING

9. THE NEXT AHG MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, TO REVIEW THE MORNING'S PLENARY SESSION AND TO CONSIDER THE DRAFT OUTLINE OF THE WESTERN OCTOBER 10 PLENARY STATEMENT. RESOR

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